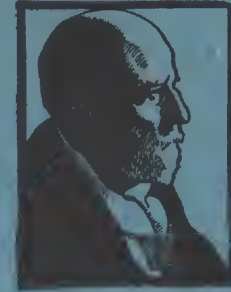


# Daniel De Leon



*By* OLIVE M. JOHNSON

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**WEEKLY PEOPLE**

45 Rose St., New York City

# Daniel De Leon

American Socialist Pathfinder

By  
OLIVE M. <sup>almberg</sup> JOHNSON

—o—

Published by the  
New York Labor News Company  
New York City

## PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

This article on De Leon was originally written at the request of the Editor of the *Modern Quarterly* of Baltimore, Maryland, for publication in that magazine. Upon that occasion the author made the following observations:

"It is not strange, therefore, that in these days when the so-called Socialist movement, represented in this country by the S. P.—characterized by Robert Minor as a huge machine for lying about Socialism—is evidently degenerating and falling to pieces, that those who are genuinely interested in learning something about Socialism, whether as a mere topic for investigation or as a general social philosophy, should desire to turn over the pages of the life of Daniel De Leon. On the other hand, it is not because of mere "hero worship" or simple admiration of the man as a man that I, with a certain tinge of pleasure, have freely complied with the request to furnish some data on De Leon's life. It is because I recognize that the movement of progress, taken in its broadest implication to include every class of liberals, cannot fail to benefit by the knowledge and study of the life of this man who, without hesitation, may be put down as 'one of the prophets.' "

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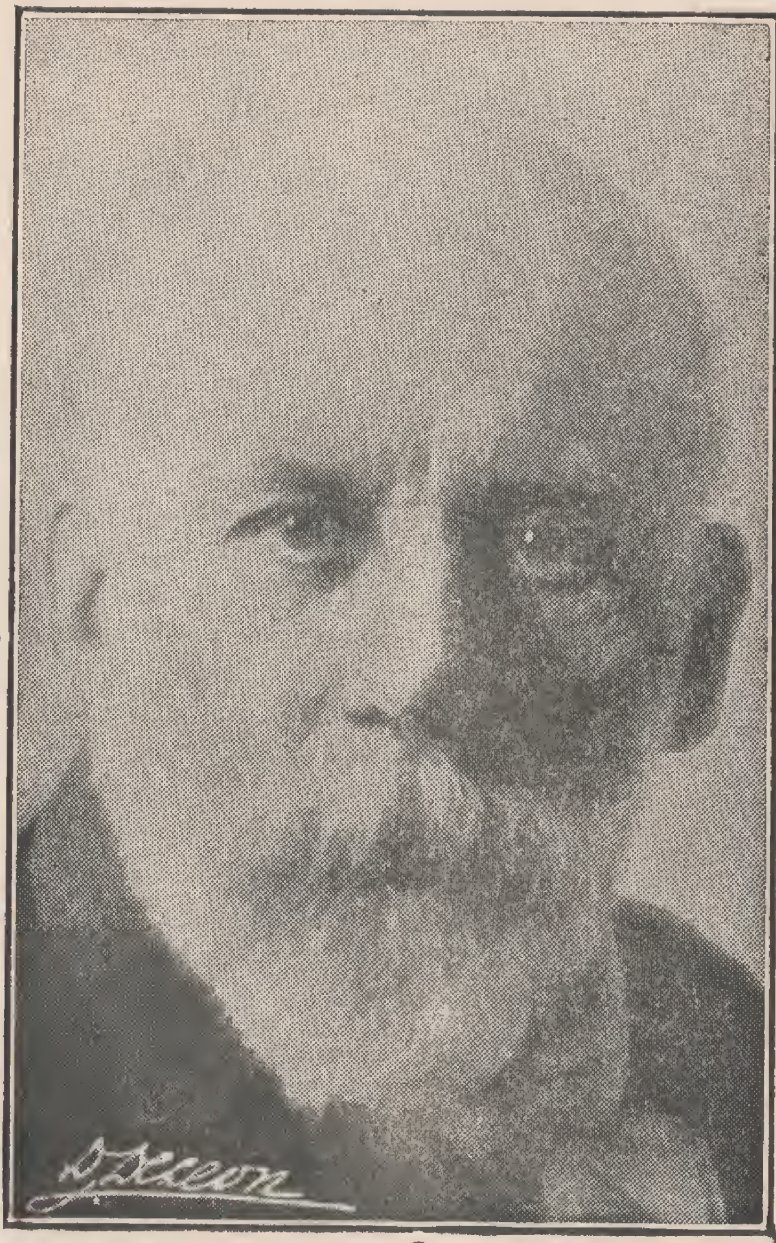
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## WAR HEARING

### The Situation in China Becoming More Serious.

It looks as if the report concerning the  
the Powers are, King, Hord, Mc-  
Gowan - McIlwain interests of Europe  
and Europe are killing a capital  
system, that they cannot survive the  
the American people.

[illegible]

## CANDIDATES OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY



## 3 BELGIAN ELECTIONS.

### Rapid Surge of the Labour Party in Votes and Seats

The Communist Party, Russian Control of  
the Government, but still working  
- Economic - Trade by the  
Labor Party like the old Party  
man - "The Party" and the  
man.

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**FILTHY AS FILM**

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ARTISTAL KUDURNA

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...and I am a person who has not  
...and I am a person who has not

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FACS

# FACSIMILE DAILY PEOPLE

First Issue



The Socialist movement of America will have its tactical moves determined by the sociological topography of the land. A movement that here is molded by the sociological topography of any other country is in the air.

—DANIEL DE LEON.

## DANIEL DE LEON

### AMERICAN SOCIALIST PATHFINDER

In his first great lecture, "Reform or Revolution," Daniel De Leon says: "We know that movements make men, but men make movements. Movements cannot exist unless they are carried on by men; in the last analysis it is the human hand and the human brain that serve as the instruments of revolutions." The Socialist movement made De Leon. Had not his destiny, or whatever we choose to call it, thrown him into the Socialist and labor movement, he would undoubtedly have lived and died a professor of international law, great in his field, referred to, no doubt, as an authority, but totally unknown and unheard of outside of very limited academic and legal circles. On the other hand, though the highly developed economic conditions of America furnish a ripe field for a clear-cut and highly advanced Socialist movement, it is barely possible that had it not been for the accident which threw Daniel De Leon into the Socialist movement and inseparably bound his name and his life to the Socialist Labor Party, there would not have been developed in this country at this time a

sound, clear-cut Socialist movement, however small and however insignificant it may be considered by those who measure numbers rather than principle, nor would the Socialist movement of the world be enriched by a clearly defined philosophy of Industrial Unionism, with the accompanying philosophy of the economic industrial basis of the future Socialist Republic, with industrial demarcations taking the place of territorial and political demarcations and the industrial vote supplanting the political vote. Thus, while the movement made De Leon, De Leon was also a powerful instrument in shaping the destiny of the American movement.

Without his powerful mind and powerful influence the Socialist movement might, undoubtedly would, to a great extent, despite our highly developed machine production, have run along the same channels as the general European Social Democracy, emasculated by reforms, compromise and log-rolling with capitalist parties, a counterpart of which manifested itself in this country in the Socialist party. Against this degenerating influence De Leon and the Socialist Labor Party held the field for more than a decade previous to the outbreak of the war; the only other notable exception being the small group of Russian Bolsheviki led by Lenin, until, with the war, an even smaller group led by Karl Liebknecht asserted itself in Germany. In America, thanks to the untiring efforts of Daniel De Leon, there existed in the Socialist Labor Party, throughout these sad years of Socialist degeneracy, the nucleus of a well

founded and strongly constituted Socialist Marxian organization.

De Leon's early life apparently furnished no background whatsoever for his later activity, and yet unquestionably during his youth and early manhood by his education and his work he laid the foundation for that thoroughness of thought and reasoning, that cold and relentless logic, that penetrating philosophy, which is so apparent in his truly creative work. For while his chosen study was the law, he was not a mere "lawyer." His mind had not the characteristics of the average lawyer. He was a legal philosopher and he had studied law as does the mathematical philosopher study mathematics, not merely to solve puzzles, but to reason out the riddles of the universe.

The two poles of the earth are not farther removed from each other than were De Leon's early and later life. He was the son of Dr. Solon De Leon of Venezuela and his family was one of the most proudly and exclusively aristocratic of the old Spanish stock. His family, though removed in every sense from everything that could connect up with the labor movement, was of grand old fighting stock, eternally engaged on one side or the other in the so-called revolutionary upheavals which constantly convulse the Southern republics. In fact, De Leon was born during just such an upheaval, while the men of the family were fighting, and his mother was removed to the island of Curacao, where he was born on the fourteenth of December, 1852. An



uncle of whom he was very fond was killed in a later outbreak.

As a youth De Leon was weak and sickly. The climate was unbearable to him, so he was sent to Europe to be educated. There he went through the gymnasium at Hildesheim, Germany, and later the University of Leyden, from which he was graduated in 1872. Only a youth of twenty, and he had mastered Spanish, German, Dutch, French and English, all of which he spoke, read and wrote fluently. Like every other German student, he had mastered Latin and Greek and had besides acquired a reading knowledge of Italian, Portuguese and modern Greek, and made a deep study of history, philosophy and mathematics.

The very thought of the tropics was intolerable to him, so he came to the United States, where he became a teacher of Latin, Greek and mathematics at a school in Westchester, N. Y., at the same time continuing his studies at the Columbia Law School, from which he was graduated with honor, taking prizes in international and constitutional law. After this he held a chair at Columbia as lecturer in international law during two successive three-year terms and was fully expecting to be appointed to a professorship when the labor movement caught him.

The change in his life came about so suddenly that even he himself could not explain it. In the spring of 1886 great labor disturbances took place in New York. The men on the horse cars struck. The condition of

these workers was so deplorable that even the police sympathized with them and neglected to make arrests although a great deal of force was used by the strikers. The capitalist class became angry; these neglects were reported, and many policemen were discharged. Then a sudden change set in; the workers were treated most brutally. De Leon read about all this with great interest, but, as he said, not with any different interest than he read other sensational news. The brutality was so evident, however, that even the colored reports of the capitalist press inclined toward the workers.

Columbia College was then on Madison Avenue, opposite St. Patrick's Cathedral. One day De Leon was sitting there together with a number of his colleagues. Suddenly there was a great noise—bells ringing, horns tooting. The street cars came in a row down the avenue. The workers had won. The group of professors hastened to the window and saw the parade go by. De Leon's colleagues expressed during this procession so much contempt and scorn and even threats against the workers that De Leon felt his blood boil. His resentment and anger were aroused and in this temper he wrote offering his support to Henry George whom he had heard the workers were intending to nominate for mayor. This happened. But even then De Leon avowed he did not have the slightest intention of throwing himself into the labor movement. Immediately, however, petty persecutions commenced. The honor of the University was at stake. All manner of obstacles

were put in his way. They could not discharge him, but neither was he appointed professor as he had expected. He was told that he might compete again for the lectureship, but the break was already inevitable.

Whatever De Leon did he did with his whole soul. There was no half-heartedness, no wobbling in his make-up. He had been caught in the net of the labor movement; from that moment he was in it body and soul.

The Socialist Labor Party at that time was the only organization that bore the name Socialist, the only organization that frankly called itself revolutionary. De Leon, though he entered the movement through the door of single tax, soon got into contact with Socialism and this led him to study Karl Marx, and through Marx and Engels he became acquainted with the American anthropologist, Lewis H. Morgan, whose "Ancient Society," though it is not really a Socialist work, De Leon frankly credited with having made him a Socialist. Soon afterwards he joined the Socialist Labor Party and in 1889 the Knights of Labor, which was then a revolutionary economic organization. In it he fought many a hard fight after it became evident that it was swerving from its original purpose.

The PEOPLE was started by the Party in 1891 and printed by the Volkszeitung Association. Lucien Sanial was the editor. In 1891 De Leon was appointed national lecturer of the Party and made his first tour

from coast to coast. In the winter of that year Lucien Sanial resigned from the PEOPLE to give way to De Leon and from that hour, properly, De Leon's career dates.

The fight in the Knights of Labor was now on, led by District Assembly 49, to which De Leon belonged. Democratic and Republican politicians and labor fakers—so named by De Leon—now infested the old order. The struggle ended with the withdrawal of District Assembly 49, which became in 1895 the nucleus of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. In the meantime the American Federation of Labor had been launched, from its inception frankly anti-revolutionary, and as De Leon recognized absolutely the necessity of the economic labor movement going hand in hand with the political revolutionary movement, he naturally both through the PEOPLE and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance opened fire upon Mr. Gompers and his reactionary organization.

The Volkszeitung Association, however, the backbone of which was the German trade unions, now A. F. of L., arose in rebellion against the new trade union policy of the Party and the struggle between the Party and the Association ended with the split of the Party and the launching, through the fusion of the secessionists and the Debs and Berger groups of the West, of the Socialist Democratic party, later the Socialist party. This party, in relation to the trade unions, pursued the



policy of "boring from within" only, "making Socialists without mentioning Socialism," "catching flies with molasses instead of vinegar," being in fact nothing more than a toady to the A. F. of L. and the labor faker, until it finally split to pieces on the rock of its own illogic.

But I am not going to follow De Leon's career through the various events and struggles of the movement. Far more important today is his mental development, and with it the growth of the Socialist philosophy for which his name stands—Industrial Unionism and the Workers' Socialist Industrial Republic. This development can best be traced through his important lectures. I select only those which I consider epoch-making.

The early Socialist Labor Party, like all the social democratic organizations of Europe, was not much more than a reform organization, its membership consisting of everybody who had a quarrel with existing society. The platform was a long string of "immediate demands," such as any reform party, from Single Tax and Populism to the present Socialist party and the so-called communist and Workers party, still carries. De Leon soon conceived that as the Socialist movement was a revolutionary movement, it ran great danger if it did not frankly declare itself.

"You will perceive the danger run by movements that—instead of accepting no leadership except such as

stands squarely upon their own demands—rest content with and entrust themselves to 'promises of relief.' REVOLUTION, accordingly, stands on its own bottom, hence it cannot be overthrown; REFORM leans upon others, hence its downfall is certain. Of all revolutionary epochs, the present draws sharpest the line between the conflicting class interests. Hence, the organizations of the revolution of our generation must be the most uncompromising of any that yet appeared on the stage of history. The program of this revolution consists not in any one detail. It demands the unconditional surrender of the capitalist system and its system of wage slavery; the total extinction of class rule is its object. Nothing short of that—whether as a first, a temporary, or any other sort of step can at this late date receive recognition in the camp of the modern revolution."

Thus, De Leon laid down the fundamentals of the Proletarian Revolution in his first epoch-making lecture, "Reform or Revolution," delivered at Boston in 1896. This may be considered the first landmark of revolutionary Marxian Socialism in this country. It was the beginning of the parting of the ways. The reform "socialists" were becoming wary.

But the study of De Leon's writings, particularly his editorials, at this period shows that while he recognized the necessity of Socialist Unionism, he was still essentially a "political Socialist" only, who perceived no other force that could back up the revolutionary ballot

than the purely physical force of the workers. The necessity of a classconscious Socialist Union became stronger in his consciousness year by year. The importance of such a union he makes clear in his next epoch-making lecture, "What Means This Strike," New Bedford, 1898.

— "Proceeding from the knowledge that labor alone produces all wealth; that less and less of this wealth comes to the working class, and more and more of it is plundered by the idle class or capitalist; that this is the result of the working class being stripped of the tool (machine), without which it cannot earn a living; and, finally, that the machine or tool has reached such a stage of development that it can no longer be operated by the individual but needs the collective effort of many;—proceeding from this knowledge, it is clear that the aim of all intelligent classconscious workingmen must be the overthrow of the system of private ownership in the tools of production because that system keeps them in wage slavery.

"Proceeding from the further knowledge of the use made of the Government by the capitalist class, and of the necessity that class is under to own the Government, so as to enable it to uphold and prop up the capitalist system;—proceeding from that knowledge, it is clear that the aim of all intelligent, classconscious workingmen must be to bring the Government under the control of their own class by joining and electing the Amer-

ican wing of the International Socialist party—the Socialist Labor Party of America, and thus establishing the Socialist Cooperative Republic.

"But in the meantime, while moving toward that ideal, though necessary goal, what to do? The thing cannot be accomplished in a day, nor does election come around every twenty-four hours. Is there nothing that we can do for ourselves between election and election?"

From election to election he then proceeds to show the workers must fight the capitalists in the unions. But the union to him was still merely a weapon to wring concessions from the capitalists under the present system, the difference between new and old trade unionism being that the old "pure and simple" union looked upon the capitalist system as a finality while the new union was:

"...clear upon the fact that, not until it has overthrown the capitalist system of private ownership in the machinery of production, and made this the joint property of the people, thereby compelling every one to work if he wants to live, is it at all possible for the workers to be safe.

"A labor organization must be perfectly clear upon the fact that it cannot reach safety until it has wrenched the Government from the clutches of the capitalist class; and that it cannot do that unless it votes, not for MEN but for PRINCIPLES, unless it votes into



power its own class platform and program: THE ABOLITION OF THE WAGES SYSTEM OF SLAVERY."

After this followed in 1902, "Two Pages from Roman History," divided into two lectures: "Plebs Leaders and Labor Leaders," and "The Warning of the Gracchi." This is a treatise on revolutionary tactics and De Leon now shows the real master hand. The division: "Plebs Leaders and Labor Leaders," is an unmercifully scathing exposure of the labor leaders of the A. F. of L. type, whom De Leon had long ago and for all time dubbed "labor fakers," or, taking the cue from Mark Hanna, "the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." "The Warning of the Gracchi" constitutes a riddling of reform, which winds up with the "Ten Canons of the Proletarian Revolution," which may be called the ten commandments of a revolutionist, ten sound uncompromising and brilliant rules of revolutionary conduct.

De Leon had now reached his mental height, but still he had not completed his lifework, nor founded his theory. He was near to it, however. The understanding of the final mission of revolutionary unionism was becoming clear to both himself and the Party membership.

The next milestone was planted at Newark, N. J., in 1904 in the lecture called: "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism." Here the twin nature of the

*The article gave me great pleasure. Not only is it agreeable to me to see he is understood, but it is especially soothing to me to notice that my own freedom is realized. It has been a martyrdom to me to see "DeLeonism" run into the ground. Now are those whom I call the Knippendolings of our movement. Such elements are, however, however, a positive danger to the best of principles. Of course, the DeLeon part, has its Knippendolings too. But that is no harm to my women — which never have been inflicted but by men from within.*

#### FACSIMILE OF DE LEON'S HANDWRITING

Letter Written to Olive M. Johnson, 1904.

revolutionary movement is made clear. The equal importance AS A REVOLUTIONARY FACTOR of the economic and political organizations of labor is elucidated. We can perceive by the following extracts how far he has advanced from 1898:

"The anti-union utopians only see the political feature of the labor movement. According to them all that a lance would need is its iron head; on the other hand, the pro-unionists have their noses so close to the ground that they fail to see the political aspect of the trades union movement, and can only see what they call its industrial aspect. In other words, they virtually hold that all that a lance would need is its shaft. It goes without saying that neither he who thinks a lance is all iron head, nor he who thinks that it is all shaft has a correct idea of what a lance is, or what its uses are. Each may have a technical, theoretic, more or less practical knowledge of each particular part of a lance, but a lance neither of them will have, nor can wield. I shall show you that unless the political aspect of the labor movement is grasped, Socialism will never triumph; and that unless its trades union aspect is grasped the day of its triumph will be the day of its defeat."

"Accordingly, the political aspect of the labor movement spells REVOLUTION. It points out exactly the duty of the Socialist or classconscious workingmen elected to office—no tinkering, no compromise, unquali-



fied overthrow of existing laws. That means the dethronement of the capitalist class. What does that, in turn, mean with regard to the subject in hand?

"Did you notice and did you realize all that there was in the capitalist threat of closing down the shops and stopping production if Bryan was elected in 1896? We know that Bryan was a reactionary capitalist; nevertheless, the fact was brought out in his campaign by that upper-capitalist threat that the ruling capitalists have it in their power to create a panic any time the government slips from their hands. What places that power in their hands? Now watch close, think close—WHAT PLACES THAT POWER IN THEIR HANDS IS THE PURE AND SIMPLE TRADES UNION: it is the fact that the WORKING CLASS is not organized. And I have shown you that the pure and simple trades union is unable to organize the working class; that it keeps the working class hopelessly divided. The majority of the voters are workingmen. But even if this majority were to sweep the political field on a classconscious, that is, a bona fide labor or Socialist ticket, they would find the capitalist able to throw the country into the chaos of panic and famine unless they, THE WORKINGMEN, WERE SO WELL ORGANIZED IN THE SHOPS THAT THEY COULD LAUGH AT ALL SHUT-DOWN ORDERS, AND CARRY ON PRODUCTION."

"Accordingly, the trades union question is indeed a

burning one. On it is pivoted the success of the Socialist Movement.... Seeing that a thing called a union may act as a drag upon the Socialist Movement, the temptation is strong upon the part of anti-unionists to drop it. I have shown you how fatal such dropping would be. The political and the industrial movement are one, he who separates them dislocates the Socialist Movement."

[This lecture, like those previously mentioned, was printed in pamphlet form and was widely read and discussed during the following year. Unquestionably it contained the intellectual basis for the formation of the I. W. W.]

Philosophically the original I. W. W. was unquestionably De Leon's creation. Its first declarations and principles were sound, but anarcho-syndicalist elements were in evidence and constituted a danger from the first. They finally conquered when, nicknamed "bummerites" from one of their favorite songs with the refrain: "Hallelujah, I'm a bum," they captured the 1908 convention and the "De Leonites" withdrew, forming the Detroit I. W. W. (later the W. I. I. U.) attempting, however few in numbers they were, to hold an organization around the old preamble and principles. De Leon from this time onward gave his energies entirely to the political organization, never flagging, however, in using his pen to clarify the theories and make plain the necessity of sound Socialist Industrial Unionism.

The central principle of unionism as held by the I.W.W., 1905-7, is elucidated by De Leon in his lecture delivered at Minneapolis a few days after the adjournment of the first, the 1905, convention of the I. W. W. This lecture is now issued under the title: "Socialist Reconstruction of Society," with the sub-title: "The Industrial Vote."

"I shall now proceed . . . . . to the sentence which sets up the theory that the final, the consummating act of Working Class emancipation must be achieved by the toilers 'taking and holding' the product of their labor 'through an economic organization of the Working Class, without affiliation with any political party.' In no country, outside of the United States, is this theory applicable; in no country, outside of the United States, is the theory rational. It is irrational and, therefore, inapplicable in all countries, with the possible exception of Great Britain and the rest of the English-speaking world, because no country but the United States has reached that stage of full-orbed capitalism—economic, political and social—that the United States has attained. In other words, no other country is ripe for the execution of Marxian revolutionary tactics. . . . . In this sentence of the Preamble is condensed what may be called the code of Marxian 'tactics,' as distinguished from the code of Marxian 'economics'; the code of 'action,' as distinguished from the code of 'theory.' As a consequence, the sentence

outlines the form of the governmental administration of the Republic of Labor."

"The 'reason' for a political party unfits it to 'take and hold' the machinery of production. As shown when I dealt with . . . . . the sentence that urges the necessity of political unity—the 'reasons' for a political movement are the exigencies of the bourgeois shell in which the Social Revolution must partly shape its course. The governmental administration of capitalism is the State, the government proper; that institution is purely political: political power, in the language of Marx, is merely the organized power of the capitalist class to oppress, to curb, to keep the working class in subjection. The bourgeois shell in which the Social Revolution must partly shape its course dictates the setting up of a body that shall contest the possession of the political robber burg by the capitalist class. The reason for such initial tactics also dictates their ultimate goal—**THE RAZING WITH THE GROUND THE ROBBER BURG OF CAPITALIST TYRANNY.** The shops, the yards, the mills, in short, the mechanical establishments of production, now in the hands of the Capitalist Class—they are all to be 'taken,' not for the purpose of being destroyed, but for the purpose of being 'held'; for the purpose of improving and enlarging all the good that is latent in them, and that capitalism dwarfs; in short, they are to be 'taken and held' in order to save them for civilization. It is exactly the reverse with the 'political power.' That is to be taken for the



purpose of ABOLISHING IT. It follows herefrom that the goal of the political movement of Labor is purely DESTRUCTIVE. Suppose that, at some election, the classconscious political arm of Labor were to sweep the field; suppose the sweeping were done in such a land-slide fashion that the capitalist election officials are themselves so completely swept off their base that they wouldn't if they could, and that they couldn't if they would, count us out; suppose that, from President down to Congress and the rest of the political redoubts of the capitalist political robber burg, our candidates were installed;—suppose that, what would there be for them to do? What should there be for them to do? Simply TO ADJOURN THEMSELVES, ON THE SPOT, SINE DIE. Their work would be done by disbanding. The political movement of Labor, that, in the event of triumph, would prolong its existence a second after triumph, would be a usurpation. It would be either a usurpation, or the signal for a social catastrophe. It would be the signal for a social catastrophe if the political triumph did not find the Working Class of the land industrially organized, that is, in full possession of the plants of production and distribution, capable, accordingly, to assume the integral conduct of the productive powers of the land. The catastrophe would be instantaneous. The plants of production and distribution having remained in capitalist hands, production would be instantly blocked. On the other hand, if the political triumph does find the Working Class indus-

trially organized, then for the political movement to prolong its existence would be to attempt to usurp the powers which its very triumph announced have devolved upon the central administration of the industrial organization. The 'reason' for a political movement obviously unfits it to 'take and hold' the machinery of production. What the political movement 'moves into' is not the shops, but the robber burg of capitalism—for the purpose of dismantling it."

"The form of central authority to which the political organization had to adapt itself and consequently looked to, will have ceased to be. As the slough shed by the serpent that immediately reappears in its new skin, the Political State will have been shed, and society will simultaneously appear in its new administrative garb. The mining, the railroad, the textile, the building industries, down or up the line, each of these, regardless of former political boundaries, will be the constituencies of that new central authority the rough scaffolding of which was raised last week in Chicago. Where the General Executive Board of the organized industrial workers will sit there will be the nation's capital. Like the flimsy card-houses that children raise, the present political government of counties, of states, aye, of the city on the Potomac herself, will tumble down, their places taken by the central and the subordinate administrative organs of the Nation's industrial forces. Obviously, not the 'structure' of the POLITICAL Movement, but the structure of the ECONOMIC

Movement is fit for the task, to 'take and hold' the industrial administration of the country's productive activity—the only thing worth 'taking and holding.' ”

“Inestimable is the value, dignified the posture of the political movement. It affords the Labor Movement the opportunity to ventilate its purposes, its aspirations and its methods free, over and above board, in the noon-day light of the sun, whereas otherwise, its agitation would be consigned to the circumscribed sphere of the rat-hole. The political movement renders the masses accessible to the propaganda of Labor; it raises the Labor Movement above the category of a 'conspiracy'; it places the Movement in line with the Spirit of the Age, which, on the one hand, denies the power of 'conspiracy' in matters that not only affect the masses, but in which the masses must themselves be intelligent actors, and, on the other hand, demands the freest of utterance. In short and in fine, the political movement bows to the methods of civilized discussion: IT GIVES A CHANCE TO THE PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE GREAT QUESTION AT ISSUE.”

The latter subject, the peaceful solution of the question at the ballot box, De Leon expatiated still further in a discussion carried on in the columns of the DAILY PEOPLE in 1906-7 with the rising anarchistic element. This discussion was published under the title: “As to Politics.” The keynote of the discussion is:

“Not everything that capitalism has brought about is to be rejected. Such a vandal view would have to smash the giant machine of modern production as well. Among the valuable things that capitalism has introduced is the idea of peaceful methods for settling disputes. In feudal days, when lords fell out, production stopped; war had the floor. The courts of law have become the main fields of capitalist, at least internal capitalist battle, and production continues uninterfered with. It matters not how corrupt the courts have become, or one-sided against the working class. The jewel of civilized or peaceful methods for settling disputes is there, however incrustated with slime. Capitalism, being a step forward as all Socialists recognize, cannot help but be a handmaid, however clumsy, to civilized methods. Of a piece with the court method for the peaceful settlement of disputes is the political method. The organization that rejects this method [the peaceful method, i. e., the political method of settling disputes] and organizes for force only, reads itself out of the pale of civilization, with the practical result that, instead of seizing a weapon furnished by capitalism, it gives capitalism a weapon against itself. . . . . The inevitable result is that the agitation has to degenerate into 'conspiracy'; conspiracy can be conducted in circumscribed localities only, such localities exclude the masses—and the wheels of time are turned back. *The bringing together of the physical force organization becomes impossible.* Political agitation equips the revolu-



tion with a weapon that is indispensable. Political agitation enables the revolution to be preached in the open, and thereby enables the revolution to be brought before the million-masses. . . . In short, political agitation, coupled with the industrial organization able to 'take and hold,' or 'back up' the political movement, or 'fill the bucket,' places the revolution abreast of civilized and intelligent methods—civilized, because they offer a chance to a peaceful solution; intelligent, because they are not planted upon the visionary plane of imagining that right can ever prevail without the might to enforce it. Of course, 'political agitation' implies the setting up of a political ticket, and that, in turn, implies the 'ballot.' Indeed, the 'ballot' may be lost; let it; the fruits, however, of the 'political agitation' are imperishable. *Under the shield of that agitation the organization is shaped.* To Father Time the final issue may be safely left."

We have now reached the conclusion of "De Leonism." De Leon's theoretical mission in the working class movement had been fulfilled. His work as a teacher and educator went on until his death, May 11, 1914, just when a period in the world's history was approaching when his versatile, virile and deeply philosophical mind would have been more than ever needed to direct the workers in the world revolution, when a period was approaching when his voice would undoubtedly have been heard.

In conclusion, for the sake of clarity, let me recapitulate. De Leon's first struggle was with the element of pure and simple economics, the Gompersites, the A. F. of L. In this fight he showed the necessity of a political revolutionary party. He won the battle; but a portion of those who had heard his voice had but partly understood. They flew to the other extreme, pure and simple Socialism. Result: the Socialist party. From 1899 until 1905 De Leon's great struggle was against pure and simple "Socialist politics." He conquered again and the result was the I. W. W.—"the workers must come together on both the political and economic fields in a revolutionary organization," etc. But again a portion of those who had listened failed to comprehend. His denunciation of pure and simple political Socialism reacted on revolutionary political action itself and the result was anarcho-syndicalism, anti-political action, physical-forcism or, as De Leon called it, pure and simple bombism. This in turn failed, as fail it must.

Today De Leon stands vindicated, theoretically and in action. The following quotation from Arthur Ransome's "Six Weeks in Russia in 1919" will show that De Leon is becoming recognized far beyond the borders of his original sphere of influence:

"Lenin said he had read in an English Socialist paper a comparison of his own theories with those of an American, Daniel De Leon. He had then borrowed

. . . . . some of De Leon's pamphlets, read them for the first time, and was amazed to see how far and how early De Leon had pursued the same train of thought as the Russians. His theory that representation should be by industries, not by areas, was already the germ of the Soviet system. He remembered seeing De Leon at an international conference. De Leon made no impression at all, a grey old man, quite unable to speak to such an audience; but evidently a much bigger man than he looked, since his pamphlets were written before the experience of the Russian Revolution of 1905. Some days afterwards I noticed that Lenin had introduced a few phrases of De Leon, as if to do honor to his memory, into the draft for the new program of the Communist party."

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